THE New Republic

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What's the Matter With Congress?

By HOWARD E. SHUMAN

Harvard, Here I Come . . . . . *Richard L. Strout*

The Diplomacy of Liberation . . . . . *Denis Healey*

THE CASE OF EZRA POUND

"How mean thy hates fostered in falsity"

APRIL 1, 1957

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Washington Wire

Men of Power

TELEVISION lights beat down hotly on the Teamsters' Union hearing in the Senate committee room last week with scores of reporters present. There were no spotlights at all in the simultaneous oil monopoly hearing on a floor above, and hardly any reporters. The first hearing was in the big marmoreal Senate Caucus Room with standing room only and headlines across America. At the oil hearing, by contrast, we counted only 35 people including four Senators, and you were lucky if you found a word about it in the local newspaper. Yet we couldn't help wondering if all the juicy items at the Teamsters performance—bawdy house madams, call girls and labor racketeering—remotely touched in importance the unreported story of what the sleek, well-spoken, ultra-correct roster of oil company presidents were saying in the almost deserted petroleum show.

These oil company officials are men of power. You could sense it; they said "billion" as casually as somebody mentioning a luncheon tip. More than that they are the men who pull the strings when the natural-gas-bill grab comes up in Congress, who make the big campaign contributions (the Rockefeller Family [Standard of N. J.] gave the GOP $152,000; the Mellon Family [Gulf], $100,000 in the last election). And they are the group who help set the course of American foreign policy in the Middle East, in Venezuela—around the world—wherever international oil rivalries center.

Think of the power of President Rathbone of Standard Oil of N. J.! The paper value of his company's common stock is more than $10 billion; his is the world's largest oil company, with sales of more than $7 billion last year. Its subsidiary, Humble Oil, led the way in increasing gasoline and fuel oil prices a cent a gallon in the midst of the Suez shortage -- estimated to cost American consumers $1 billion a year alone. (Labor Statistics Commissioner Ewan Clague last week, explaining why living costs had jumped another four-tenths of one percent special "depletion allowance" high for the sixth straight month, listed gasoline increases as a factor.)

Well, it is always interesting to see these men up close and watch how they work, even though nobody seems to share that interest with us. For example, it strikes us as charming that they pay little, if any, US income tax on their immensely profitable imports of foreign oil. Really, if we hadn't heard them testify to this we would have doubted if it were possible.

You probably know about the 27.5 percent special "depletion allowance" which the oil industry now gets on its domestic income tax, up to half of net income. This column has mentioned it until it is tiresome. It means billions to the oil companies. It is the juiciest tax plum there is. It has helped make the oil industry one of the most profitable in the country. Talk about teamsters' rackets! This tax dodge makes poor old Dave Beck look like a piker. The theory is that the oil companies need a federal subsidy to persuade them to go out and produce oil.

Forget the Taxes

BUT NOW COMES a second gimmick. The Treasury allows an American company to deduct from US income tax any tax it pays abroad. Aramco splits its profits 50-50 with Arabian rulers. These are actually royalties, but that isn't what Aramco and other American firms call them—they call most of them income tax. They deduct them from the United States tax.

Rathbone is an attractive, self-confident man with a fine address at Rockefeller Plaza and membership in the right golf clubs in New Jersey—not a bit like the vulgar West Coast teamster leaders with slum backgrounds squirming before the McClellan committee. Senators O'Mahoney, Kefauver and Carroll brought out from Rathbone the high-toned workings of his model subsidiary, Aramco. Out of $724 million worth of oil produced in 1955 Aramco turned over $272 million in profits to King Saud, kept $272 million for itself.

An ordinary firm, incorporated as it is in Delaware, would pay 52 percent taxes on this quarter billion dollar profit —or around $141 million, a tidy sum. Aramco?—no, it didn't pay a cent. It got a $121 million tax "depletion credit," and then it got a $193 million tax credit for foreign "income taxes." The sum of these two really left you and me and other taxpayers owing Aramco money, but President Rathbone is a fine, magnanimous man and he let the item slide. "Just forget the income taxes and we're satisfied," is his generous attitude. The same trick is used by American companies for Venezuela oil, producing 900 million barrels a year.

"I say the arrogance of these people has to be curbed," cries Senator Carroll (D, Colo.) a member of the committee. Ha, little he knows. Carroll is a newcomer in the Senate.. He'll find out. Where were the television cameras, and the lights and the newsmen at the two hearings last week?—why, at the Teamsters' show, of course. That's what the public mostly hears about—Beck, not Rathbone.

Notes

JOE MCCARTHY is being slapped down on all sides; he couldn't get a supporter in his fight against Justice Brennan's confirmation; the Senate Armed Services Committee approved General Zwicker's promotion unanimously over his protest; Ike refused to invite him to the White House; there's talk that the GOP may drop him in Wisconsin in 1960. Yet only two years ago in the midterm election the GOP put him on the road to impugn Democrats' loyalty. . . . Anxieties over the President's health continue, not reduced by the extraordinary speech of Presidential Appointment Secretary, Bernard Shanley in Rutherford, N. J., in which Shanley stated that the President can't "do the things he did three years ago" and that he has seen him "so tired he has rested his head in his hands." . . . Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson is a worry too; he refuses to rest in spite of a heart condition and is so edgy that an off-the-record conference with Texas reporters last week ended in their angry walk-out.

T.R.B.

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The New Republic

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APRIL 1, 1957

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VOL. 136, NO. 13, ISSUE 2209

Correspondence

► ***Bing Crosby for President***

SIRS:

I'M NOT sure whether *The New Republic* claims the Democratic Party as its dunghill but many of your readers must recognize joyful continuity in current promises of new issues, new policies and new faces. Think of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison bounding along the bumpy roads of 1791 on their trip to the North, each reiterating to the other, "Sir, what we need to defeat the Federalists are new issues, new policies and new faces—excepting, of course, your face and mine."

For more than 100 years our problem has been how to beat those wicked Republicans who have just stolen our welfare state. Why don't we take over their pattern of constitutional government? We should concentrate political initiative, responsibility and authority in our brilliant Congressmen and Senators, all

(*Continued on page 23*)

Choose Your Dulles

WE HAVE HEARD complaints from London, Paris, Tel-Aviv, Cairo and elsewhere that John Foster Dulles is elusive, hard to pin down. Of course he is, and who should know that better than his employers, the American people? If, for example, an average American citizen were to ask Mr. Dulles what we are up against in the Middle East, what answer would he get? That would depend on when and where it was asked.

On November 29, 1955, to illustrate, the Secretary informed his press conference that the US "very distinctly" had the initiative in the Middle East. He saw no "developments which require us to alter the general magnitude of our programs." About two weeks later, we learned that agreement had been reached to co-ordinate Western policies in the Middle East: The parties to the agreement were Mr. Dulles, British Foreign Secretary Macmillan and French Foreign Minister Antoine Pinay.

All seemed calm on February 26, 1956: the Russians have "made very little progress in the last few years. . . . The fact is they have failed and they have got to devise new policies." We would even welcome Soviet support for UN efforts to prevent war in that area, Mr. Dulles suggested on April 17, 1956. We could have "great confidence" in the UN's efforts for peace (this three weeks later) "since the Soviet Union seems increasingly aware of the dangerous consequences of reckless action."

On August 14, 1956, although there were rumors of trouble, the Secretary was confident of a "peaceful solution" of the Suez Canal dispute, one that would "assure dependable international operation" of the Canal.

But something went wrong. The "co-ordination" of Western policies got unstuck. Mr. Dulles took a graver line on New Year's Day, 1957—but not much graver:

> During the coming year the United States will have to accept an increasing responsibility to assist the free nations of the Middle East. . . . We must live by the golden rule.

By January 8, 1957, the Secretary went further—in fact almost all the way. It was his "definite belief" that without the Eisenhower Doctrine the Middle East would be "lost" to Communism. And on January 14, the situation seemed to the Secretary "the most serious threat we have faced over the past 10 years."

> SENATOR SYMINGTON: You say that today we face the gravest problem of the last 10 years. . . . Is that correct?
> DULLES: Yes, sir.
> SENATOR SYMINGTON: So you think our chances of going to war unless we do this [approve the Eisenhower Doctrine] are greater today than they were at the time of the Berlin airlift?
> DULLES: Yes, sir.

On February 15, the penalty for not endorsing the Doctrine was "a very

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great likelihood that US soldiers eventually would have to fight in the Middle East!

But by the February 20 press conference, a degree of the familiar confidence had returned. Did we have any assurance that Egypt will not fire on ships through the Gulf of Aqaba?—"No specific assurances . . . it is a matter of course."

And would we shoot our way through the Straits of Tiran?—"That is a contingency which we do not anticipate."

In general, Mr. Dulles reflected,

> since the events of the last few months there has come about on the part of all the nations and members of the UN a more lively realization of the interconnection of peace and justice and conformity with international law.

One month later, on March 20, the Secretary left for Bermuda, but not without expressing, in the words of the *New York Times* reporter, "a tranquil view of developments in the Middle East." He found the "general trend satisfactory and in the interests of peace and justice" and said that the recent assortment of "crises" were simply "fluctuations up and down" in a generally improving situation.

And so we come full circle.

Why Prices Go Up

THE federal government's Bureau of Labor Statistics has joined the *New York Times* in identifying a new villain in the higher-and-higher-cost-of-living story. In the past the President and his economic advisers have subscribed to the theory that rising industrial wages are the root cause of it all. Now BLS Commissioner Ewan Clague backs up a recent analysis by Edwin L. Dale Jr., economics specialist for the *New York Times,* pointing to "non-goods"—not industrial wages or prices of consumer products—as the major cause of pocketbook strain.

"Non-goods"—services, transportation, rents, utilities and other things we buy that we can't eat or wear out—account for 36 percent of a typical family's living costs. And there has been "an uninterrupted rise" in the price of "non-goods" since 1952. No other category of price statistics can make this claim. Food prices, which were generally declining from mid-1952 until last year, are still a little below the 1952 level. Consumer "soft goods" such as clothing, cigarettes, alcoholic beverages and gasoline have risen, but largely because of increased taxes on them. The durable "hard goods"—furniture, automobiles, appliances—now generally cost less than they did four years ago.

"Non-things" have added most of the gas to the inflation balloon in the last four years, the *New York Times* and the Bureau of Labor Statistics tell us. To the question "why," their answer is mainly "efficiency."

In general, industrial productivity has risen faster than wages so that unit costs have gone down. (Labor economists point out that logically, therefore, prices of manufactured goods should have gone down too.) But "non-goods" cannot be produced so much more efficiently simply by investing in new equipment.

The *New York Times* expert asks, "How does one improve the productivity of a policeman or a fireman or a school teacher?"

Cigarette Trouble

"WE DON'T need more research to show that cigarette smoking and lung cancer are closely associated. It is time our public health policies asserted the fact." That was the private comment of one of the seven distinguished scientists who conducted the review of recent medical literature for the National Institutes of Health, the American Cancer Society and the American Heart Association. Their report concluded: "The smoking of tobacco, especially in the form of cigarettes, is an important health hazard," and there is "need for thorough consideration of appropriate control measures on the part of the official and voluntary agencies concerned with the health of the people."

The US Government has not previously recognized the smoking habit as a hazard to health, as this report now does. Open to the government are two extremes of action: One is tobacco prohibition, patterned after the Volstead Act, a course not seriously considered. The other is to declare cigarettes a hazard, and do nothing about it. Between these extremes are many moderate steps, such as the anti-smoking educational campaign conducted by three European governments—Great Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden—aimed at their young people.

No government regulation of cigarette manufacturing can ensure "innocuous cigarettes" because the elements in the cigarettes which are associated with lung cancer have not been isolated, but one regulatory step would be

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for the FTC to bar the kind of advertising which associates smoking with social acceptance—"li-i-ve modern."

The number of Americans affected by this new scientific report is sobering. A 1956 monograph by the Public Health Service entitled *Tobacco Smoking Patterns in the US* concluded that 60 percent of American men and 30 percent of the women acquire a regular cigarette smoking habit during their lives, and only 12 percent of the smokers quit. Of today's 56 million cigarette smokers, the Health Service found a pack a day or more is smoked by 15 percent of the men and 5 percent of the women. And the danger is not confined to these "heavy smokers," for the latest report quotes a British finding that "lung cancer risk is statistically significant for half-pack a day smokers."

If government and private health agencies now decide to launch a publicity campaign on the health hazards of smoking, as *The New Republic* believes they should, the educational effort will not be accepted passively by an industry with a billion dollars a year in sales, and contributing through its advertising budget as much as any other industry to the support of American television, radio, newspapers and the entertainment world.

Reforming Congress

THERE HAS BEEN no scientific study made, so far as we know, of whether the Congress of the United States is more sinned against than sinning. Mark Twain believed that "it could probably be shown by facts and figures that there is no distinctly native American criminal class except Congress."

Nor, despite all the modern polling techniques, are we sure whether Congress at any given moment accurately represents the voters. In his analysis on page 17 of this issue ("What's Wrong With Congress"), a writer with considerable familiarity with the subject maintains that neither the House nor the Senate (especially the latter) is truly representative. And if we accept this, we can always console ourselves by saying that when Congress errs it is not reflecting public opinion. And when Congress shines, it *is* responding to the will of the people.

The organizational reforms Mr. Shuman proposes in his article seem to us sensible in every way. But what hope can we have that anything will be done about them?

Only Congress can reform Congress. And most Congressmen like it the way it is. The very conditions which Mr. Shuman rightfully condemns, and which almost guarantee Congressional domination by a conservative coalition, are conditions which it is in the coalition's interest to perpetuate. It is undoubtedly time for a change, but that change will come only when there is a liberal majority in the Congress. Not a Democratic, but a liberal majority. And there hasn't been one for a long time.

FROM THE

Congressional Record

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1957

Civilian Defense

Mr. Fulton. If we go into a program of underground shelters, has the committee any evidence that Russia is engaging in a similar program? . . . Because if Russia does not, and we do, then Russia will and it will be a question of . . . a race.

Mr. Hoffman. Do we have to do everything that Russia does or some other country does?

Mr. Thomas. I should not think so; I hope not.

Mr. Fulton. If there is no threat, why do it?

Mr. Hoffman. Why look to them for anything that we do? . . If we go in with this civil-defense program and some of these other mattetrs, Uncle Sam paying with the people's tax dollars, there will not be anything left, anyway. But I had been thinking over the years—and I still think that it is possible for those children when they come along—and I am talking about those great-granddaughters now, do not let me get mixed up on this—I believe that they will get married and will get good husbands, because the girls deserve that; and they will have sense enough to choose—I hope—hard-working, and thrifty men who believe in, have faith in our form of government; but I have been thinking about whether they will be able to earn a livelihood, as I was able to do in those old horse-and-buggy days. How silly can we get? Keep on and Russia need not fight a war to destroy us. We will just spend ourselves out. . . .

Mr. Edmondson. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlemen yield?

Mr. Hoffman. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. Edmondson. The Associated Press just carried a few minutes ago the following from London:

> Russia's Defense Minister says any major new war would leave no hiding place and that the United States would not—

Mr. Hoffman. Then what is the use of building them?

Mr. Edmondson—

> be able, as formerly to sit it out over the ocean and avoid destructive and deadly blows. Quoted by Moscow radio today, Marshal Georgi Zhukov warned that Russia would use atomic and hydrogen bombs as its main striking force if such a conflict broke out.

Mr. Hoffman. I do not yield further. I do not care to hear anymore from Russia. One might just as well be dead, buried or not, if . . . he is to live in fear of certain death as some seem to want us to do. . . .

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Ezra Pound

ALMOST every year since poet Ezra Pound's arrest, we have published some sort of comment on his continued imprisonment at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D. C. All that has happened is that Pound has grown older.

We have never been persuaded that the government's dossier against Pound was insufficient to convict him of treason in 1945—had he come to trial. Nor do we take the view that Pound's social and political theories are merely the harmless eccentricities of a crank. His anti-Semitism, for instance, may have had its origin in burlesque houses, but it is the real article; and we have learned that when anti-Semitism gets out of hand, people get killed. Pound's "court" at St. Elizabeth's has been, among other things, a breeding-ground for young neo-fascists.

Since his confinement has taken place in a model institution and has given him at least freedom to go on with his work and hold his court, we feel that he has been served with considerably less severity (at least since the Pisa days) than he would have been had his case been tried. And yet we would like to see the government give this old man and this eminent poet his freedom—if not as an act of justice, than as an act of largesse.

There is every reason to believe that the US Attorney-General would be willing to quash the Pound indictment if his case were brought to trial, if only because of the length of time Pound has already spent locked up. This cannot be done, however, until those empowered to act on Pound's behalf agree—which they have not yet done—to his undergoing the ordeal for another sanity hearing.

By-Passing Suez—II

AT BERMUDA, the President and Prime Minister Macmillan agreed that Colonel Nasser must not be allowed to use the Suez Canal to blackmail the West. But when they discussed practical ways of by-passing the Canal, no immediate answer was found to be adequate. As we reported last week, new oil tankers worth $5 billion are now under construction or on order—and these are fuel-hungry Europe's best short-term hope. With these in operation, Europe's present vulnerability to Arab caprice and Russian intrigue could be reduced considerably. But, the building of additional tankers (and pipelines) cannot be done overnight.

Two other alternatives to dependence on Suez are being discussed: the exploitation of new oil discoveries in the Sahara (perhaps a 10-year task), and accelerated development of atomic power for Europe (probably 20 years away). Let us consider here the prospects in the Sahara.

Geological studies on the sizes of the field are not complete, and the French government has been cautious in its official estimates, but oil was found in Algeria in 1956 and American correspondents who have talked with the French geologists in North Africa quote them as predicting a Sahara oil pool comparable to the one in the Persian Gulf, which contains more than half of the world's known petroleum reserves. The top French official in charge of petroleum research, Pierre Guillaumat, informed a press conference that by 1961 the Sahara field could deliver 9 million tons of oil to Europe, equal to a quarter of French needs; and within 15 years, enough to satisfy all French needs.

One of Sahara oil's chief advantages is the short haul to Western Europe. Today, a tanker carrying oil from a Mideast pipeline takes about a week to make the 6,500-mile trip. The same tanker running from the Persian Gulf through Suez takes two weeks; and the journey around Africa requires four weeks. In contrast, the run from Algiers to ports in Southern and Western Europe takes one to three days.

One successful oil strike has been made 350 miles south of Algiers near Ouargla, and the French now propose to construct a 125-mile pipeline from there to the nearest railhead. Another gusher came in near the Libyan border in Algeria, 220 miles from the Mediterranean. Still another is close to the Algerian post of Colomb-Bechar, within 250 miles of the Mediterranean.

Moreover, recent mineral discoveries in the Sahara suggest that the area may also be one of the world's few remaining storehouses of mineral wealth. Iron deposits in both Algeria and French West Africa are said to equal those in Alsace-Lorraine. Commercial deposits of copper, tin, coal, tungsten, zinc, manganese and mercury are known to exist in the Desert. Uranium has been found in the mountains on the Morocco-Algerian border.

All of this is good news to the French, for whom North Africa has brought little but bad news recently. On January 10, the French created a Sahara Regional Authority which will provide governmental capital and technical assistance for exploitation of all Saharan resources under French control. The Authority is empowered to make joint arrangements with other governments having Saharan territories (Morocco, Tunisia, Libya). Such joint economic enterprises will sweeten present political bitterness between colonial France and the newly independent nations in North Africa. At least that is the French hope.

These same Saharan riches were France's principal

NEXT WEEK

GUY SEARLS, a special correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System, writes from Hong Kong on the problems of reporting from the outside on what is happening inside China.

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bargaining point in negotiations for a common market among six West European countries. France offered to include its African territories in the common market, thereby making new mineral wealth available to all France's European partners on equal terms—provided they agreed to invest in the African venture. The French offer was accepted.

Only four companies have been given oil drilling permits in Algeria—two of them owned by the French Government, one controlled 65 percent by Royal Dutch Shell (a British-Dutch combine), and a fourth company in which Shell holds a minority interest. No American or German interests have yet been admitted, and if past French practice is continued, further contracts will be awarded only to these same companies.

Clearly, the potentialities of the Sahara are a promise of liberation of Western Europe from blackmail threats by Egypt. Yet it must be recognized that the potentialities cannot easily or quickly be realized. In the first place, geological certainty as to the size of the Sahara field is not expected for at least another year. More serious than that, no discoveries and no pipelines can be relied upon in the absence of a political settlement between France and the Algerian Nationalist Movement.

The military rebellion against the French in Algeria obstructs the exploitation of Saharan wealth in the same way as the intransigence of Colonel Nasser and Arab nationalism endanger Western access to Mideast oil. Morocco, for example, has already laid claim to the entire Sahara desert. Spokesmen for a free Algeria also claim title to the desert. And on his return trip from the US, King Saud of Saudi Arabia, stated that "the Sahara is a part of the Arab patrimony."

Still, the French proceed with confidence. Premier Mollet has assured the United Nations he will do all he can to satisfy demands of the Algerian nationalists. But it isn't the moral prodding of the UN which persuades M. Mollet to persevere. It is the consequences of the Algerian rebellion to the French economy. That, and Sahara oil.

Saudi Arabia—A Correspondent's Report

IN DISCUSSING the rapid growth of Saudi Arabia, it is easy to give a wrong impression. There is still a lot of desert in Arabia; miles, long miles, of rock, sand and gravel where nothing grows except thorn. Here the Bedouin still wander with their camels and goats in search of pasture. The tribe is an important element in Saudi society, though it has lost its political power and its shaikh has probably succumbed to the temptations of the big city and lives as a courtier rather than as the desert warrior of popular imagination. But at journey's end, the picture changes. There is a rapidly growing township set in groves of date palm and tamarisk. There are probably two vast buildings already completed, three or four more under construction. These are the palaces, the barracks, the schools and the hospitals. They bear witness to the sudden flood of oil wealth; and they also pose a problem.

It is easy to build if you have the money. But how to staff these great and unfamiliar structures? A few Western experts and technicians are employed. But the great majority come from the more advanced Arab lands, particularly from Egypt, which is the cultural as well as the political leader of the Arab world. Egyptian help will be needed, and wanted, for many years yet—until the schools have done their work and turned out a generation of Saudis trained in the arts and crafts required to sustain a modern state. What that state will look like is still anyone's guess. The education of a whole people is sure to bring change, but what direction that change will take cannot yet be forecast. There is certainly little evidence today of any challenge to the existing autocracy.

What can be forecast, however, is that the menace of Israel will continue to dominate thought in the Saudi Arabian capital of Riyadh, just as the menace of Communism dominates thought in London and Washington. No Saudi leader regards a permanent settlement with Israel as either possible or desirable. Even a temporary settlement would be regarded with grave suspicion. Terms acceptable to the Arabs would certainly be unacceptable to the Jews and *vice versa*. At present, the Saudi are determined that Israel should not benefit from her attack on Egypt; their minimum demands are that Egyptian control should be restored over the Gaza Strip and the Sharm Al Shaikh area, and that the economic blockade of Israel should be resumed. If they could think of a way of leaving Israel worse off than she was before, they would certainly pursue it. The Saudi dilemma—and that of the other Arab states—is that they lack the strength to destroy the force they refuse to recognize.

Britain now comes in for a good share of the obloquy that formerly fell on Israel alone. Shaikh Yusuf Yasin said that a straightforward quarrel between Britain and Egypt, leading to war, might have been understood by the Arabs. But the collusion with Israel was utterly damning. British prestige in Saudi Arabia had already been undermined by the occupation of the Buraimi oasis where oil was thought to exist. It was utterly destroyed by the attack on Egypt. The rubble, the dust and the ashes are now being stirred by incidents on the Yemen border. The Saudis do not exclude the possibility of a resumption of diplomatic relations with Britain; but the conditions they mention would mean recognition of

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Egyptian control over Gaza and Sharm Al Shaikh, acceptance of the Egyptian case on the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, and reparation to Egypt for the damage caused during the attack.

The Saudi attitude toward the US and the Soviet Union is more complex and more interesting. The strong pressures exerted by the US Administration on Israel, Britain and France are warmly appreciated. So is the lavish reception accorded to King Saud in Washington. Both the King and his advisers are satisfied that they made an impact on President Eisenhower and that American policy will be less favorable to Zionism than hitherto. Yet doubt still nags at the Saudi mind. America's part in the creation of the state of Israel is not forgotten, and it is firmly believed that Israel remains viable only by virtue of American economic support.

Oddly enough, the Eisenhower Doctrine, despite the friendly remarks made by King Saud in Washington, has deepened Saudi doubt. The military proposals are regarded as irrelevant to the existing situation; no Saudi expects a Russian attack. The economic proposals mean little to a state as wealthy as Saudi Arabia.

Commenting on the military proposals, Shaikh Yusuf Yasin said: "If the Russians attack us, we shall certainly ask for American help; and if the British or French attack us, we shall certainly ask for Russian help." The Amir Abdullah expressed the same thought in a different way. "Why does the United States offer us help only against the one power that has consistently supported us?" In such a mood, the Saudis are apt to look for the catch. The Amir Musaid, expressing a personal view, thought the proposals were designed to draw the Arab states into an anti-Russian alignment. "But all we know of the Russians" he continued, "is that they gave us arms and wheat, bought our cotton, helped us in the United Nations, and imposed a cease-fire by threatening to intervene in Egypt." (Note the use of the first plural when speaking of the Egyptians; it happens all the time in Riyadh.)

THE Eisenhower Administration is handicapped by its desire, perhaps its duty, to seek a settlement in the Middle East. And a settlement involving the recognition of Israel is just what the Arabs do not want. Here, their attitude is more closely in line with that of the Soviet Union, which, for different reasons, wants Middle Eastern waters to stay troubled.

The Saudis reject Communism on both social and religious grounds. But Saudi authorities do not fear the spread of Communism, nor even the social radicalism now fashionable in Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Aramco officials say that some of their workers listen to Moscow Radio, not because they are Communists but because it is easier to get than other non-Arab transmissions. Something of what they hear may stick. Yet signs of social unrest are remarkably few. When the King and his large party of advisers visited the United States, the Amir Faisal and many other high officials found it possible to go off on hunting expeditions. Meanwhile, the country just ran itself.

Saudi Arabia has no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; and, having no immediate need of Soviet help, King Saud would probably prefer to keep the Soviet Government at arm's length. Yet high officials of the Saudi Government warmly applaud the friendship established between Moscow, Cairo and Damascus. They regard it as a natural and inevitable reaction against the West's refusal to meet Arab needs. They are also grateful for the support given to the Arabs by the Soviet Union during the recent emergency, and probably exaggerate the effectiveness of Marshal Bulganin's threats in bringing about the cease-fire. Churchill once said that if Hitler invaded Hell, he would at least make a friendly reference to the Devil in the House of Commons. The Amir Abdullah recalled this, inaccurately, but with approval.

THE Israelis' final decision to withdraw behind the armistice lines was hailed with relief in Riyadh, though the future is still clouded by doubts about the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba and the administration of the Gaza and Sharm Al Shaikh areas. The main problem of the Saudis is to get the oil revenues back to normal. Before the attack on Egypt, Aramco was producing 135,000 tons a day. As a result of the blocking of the Suez Canal and the Saudi decision to close the submarine pipeline to British-protected Bahrain, the figure fell to 87,000 in January. A few hours after the Syrian decision to permit the repair of the IPC pumping stations, King Saud authorized the reopening of the Bahrain pipeline, the normal through-put of which runs at about 22,000 tons daily; and with the progressive clearance of the Suez Canal, output should soon climb back to pre-crisis figures. In the circumstances, the estimate given me by Shaikh Muhammad Surur, the Saudi Minister of Finance, that oil revenue for the current year would be down by about 20 percent, seems a fairly safe one.

Despite the fall in revenue, the Saudi Government has decided not to reduce its expenditure for the year, which was estimated before the crisis broke at about $425 million. The deficit is to be met from the General Reserve, and in view of the steadily rising demand for oil in Western Europe and of the exploitation of the great new field of Ghawar, south of Dhahran, the Saudi Government believes it can look forward to many more decades of swelling prosperity.

Beirut, Lebanon H. A. R. PHILBY

H. A. R. PHILBY, *son of the famous Arabist and advisor to the late King Saud—St. John Philby—resides in Beirut and is the Middle East correspondent for several British publications. He has just completed a three-week tour of Saudi Arabia.*

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The Diplomacy of Liberation

by DENIS HEALEY

THE HUNGARIAN tragedy awakened our moral conscience. But it stirred feelings of guilt, too, by demonstrating our total impotence to intervene by force in Eastern Europe in spite of years of propaganda about liberation. The atomic stalemate has closed all roads to liberation except diplomacy.

A few years ago it was easy to delude oneself that, with all its obvious disadvantages, the confrontation of NATO troops and the Red Army along the Iron Curtain was a guarantee of peace—the Russians would never move West so long as American GIs stood in their path. But what if in a few years time, or sooner, the East Germans rise as the Hungarians did last autumn? Will the 12 West German divisions stand idly by while their compatriots are being massacred by Soviet tanks? If they do not, what will their NATO allies do to help them? Will this mean the beginning of a third world war?

When the German Foreign Minister asked his NATO colleagues this question last December, he did not get an answer. The Russians must be asking themselves the same questions with no more success. It is an ironic commentary on human wisdom that the division of Germany, which seemed to her enemies the one real solution of the German problem only 10 years past, now appears as the one way by which Germany can still threaten world peace in the atomic age. The reunification of Germany and the liberation of the satellites is now revealed as not only a moral duty but also as a political necessity.

Yet if liberation by force is ruled out, does diplomacy offer any alternative? By revealing the fundamental instability of the present situation, Hungary should have made both sides more willing for a compromise. Yet as of this writing their positions are hopelessly far apart. While the West has been insisting on the right to advance NATO to the frontiers of Poland, Russia has been insisting on the withdrawal of NATO from the whole of Western Europe. Is there any position in between these extremes where the two sides might agree to meet?

I believe that Hungary—and Poland—have lessons for us here as well. In the past the West has been reluctant to consider a European settlement for we have said that Russia's control of Eastern Europe depends on her control of the satellite Communist parties rather than the presence of the Red Army. The events of the last year suggest, on the contrary, that without the physical presence of the Red Army the Communist parties of Eastern Europe would not be reliable instruments of Soviet policy—nor would they even conform to Communist doctrine. The West has therefore much stronger reasons than before for making a Red Army withdrawal a major goal of its diplomacy.

By his *ex cathedra* denunciation of the Kremlin's infallibility last year Khrushchev knocked the ideological linchpin out of world Communist loyalty to Moscow. And the liquidation of Beria's international police empire has removed an indispensable tool for Russian control of foreign parties. Though the process has gone farther in some East European states than in others, there is good reason to believe that the withdrawal of the Red Army from Eastern Europe would be followed by the liberalization of the Communist regimes and a loosening of their ties to Moscow.

At first sight this in itself might seem enough to abolish any earlier Soviet readiness to consider a military pull-back. But Russia too has grounds for favoring withdrawal. The weakening of Communist loyalties in Eastern Europe has already compelled the USSR to seek friends there by economic aid—the region is no longer a net contributor to the Soviet economy. Moreover the infection of freedom is spreading from Eastern Europe to the Russians themselves. Contact with Polish and Hungarian students was surely one reason for the recent wave of unrest in Soviet universities. Khrushchev had to replace the two occupation divisions in Hungary before he could risk using the Red Army to repress the revolt. Finally, the development on both sides of intercontinental atomic striking power will reduce the defensive importance of a military glacis between Russia and the West.

On the other hand Russia is most unlikely to withdraw from Eastern Europe unless NATO forces also withdraw some way to the West. She has, of course, already offered to leave Eastern Europe if NATO forces and bases leave the Continent entirely—but this in turn is unacceptable to the West. The fact is that a reciprocal withdrawal from the Iron Curtain would only be acceptable to both sides on three conditions—that it did not significantly change the existing military balance; that it did not pro-

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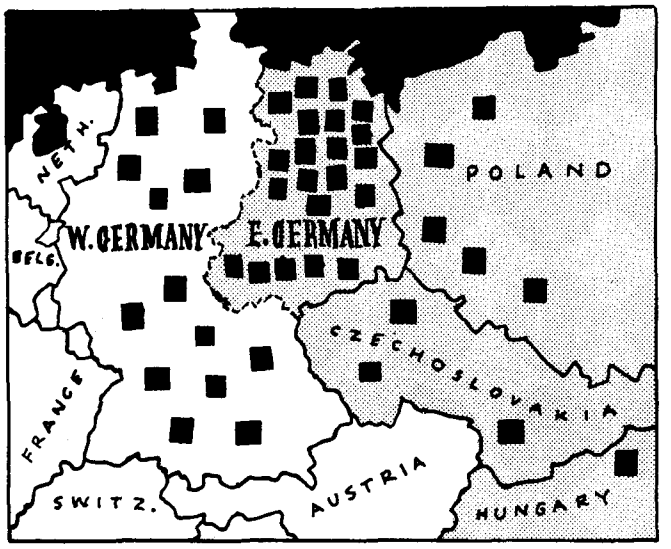

NATO AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES. NATO has 13 divisions in West Germany. The USSR has 20-22 divisions in East Germany and 8-10 divisions in the other satellite countries. (The average strength of a NATO division is roughly 1/3 greater than that of a Soviet.)

duce a less stable situation than the present; and that it contained built-in guarantees against reversal by either side—or by the states in the middle zone.

The first condition means that NATO—and the Anglo-American forces in particular—must not leave the Continent altogether. If they did, the political and physical obstacles to the return of American troops in a crisis would be far greater than those facing the Red Army in a land advance from Russian territory. In practice this means NATO could not withdraw farther West than the Eastern frontiers of the Low Countries and France.

The second condition means that the states in the area thus neutralized would have to have settled their major internal differences before the withdrawal was complete. In particular this means that Poland and Germany would have to agree finally on their mutual frontier. Fortunately there are at last signs that German statesmen are prepared to compromise on the Oder-Neisse line.

The third condition means that the neutralized states would have to possess enough armed forces to act as protection against a casual *fait accompli*—but not so many or so strong as to achieve military independence of action *vis-à-vis* the states outside the area. In particular they would have to forego atomic armaments.

The question then arises whether a system of inspection and control can be devised to monitor these arms limitations inside the area and to protect the area as a whole against surprise attack by Russia or the West. I believe that the disarmament proposals recently put forward by the Soviet Union and the US have enough in common to make such a system negotiable, *i.e.*, a combination of inspection teams inside the area with ground control posts and aerial reconnaissance for several hundred miles each way outside the area.

It must be admitted that from the purely military point of view a settlement along these lines would leave the West—above all, Western Germany—less secure than the original NATO conception of a shield for local defense along the frontier of Soviet power. But NATO has completely failed to fulfill this conception, and there is no reason to believe it ever will. When in fact, all the NATO powers are cutting their defense forces and turning to the thermonuclear deterrents, it is futile and even dangerous to base diplomacy on the opposite assumption. NATO does not possess a shield in Western Europe. Its forces are a tripwire whose purpose is to activate atomic retaliation by strategic air power in case of aggression.

On the other hand, the case for a massive land defense force on the ground was based on the political assumption that the Soviet will to military aggression against Western Europe is absolute. This assumption is not true today. It is inconceivable that Russia would launch the whole of the Red Army westward when this is bound to mean thermonuclear war. The military danger is rather one of a local aggression so limited as not to call down the sanction of race suicide. This danger can only be met by a policy of graduated deterrents, or limited retaliation, which NATO has so far failed to develop. But once such a policy is developed, it could be applied to the protection of the neutral area no less than to that covered by NATO itself. Once NATO learns to adopt a flexible military posture whose object is to render war unprofitable to the aggressor rather than fatal to both sides, it will possess the means to deter aggression even beyond its own boundaries.

AT PRESENT the biggest obstacle to military disengagement is the attitude of the West Germans themselves. But this too is changing, and will change much faster once the West Germans have some armed forces of their own. Indeed there is a danger that if ever West Germany acquires its own atomic weapons it will approach the Russians independently for a deal at the expense of both NATO and Poland. That is one reason why NATO should try to develop a collective policy for disengagement as soon as possible. It is also a reason why the neutralization of a United Germany alone would be so dangerous. Unless the Red Army leaves Poland at the same time as it leaves Eastern Germany a repetition of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact is always possible.

It may well be that in the immediate shock of their Hungarian humiliation the Russians are not ready to discuss any proposal which involves a withdrawal by the Red Army. But it will in any case take months or years to work out the details. The sooner the idea of disengagement is launched in principle the better. It is essential to provide the liberal wing in the Kremlin with the pros-

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pect of an alternative foreign policy to one which requires military repression of foreign states. And it is no less necessary to show the West Germans that, though NATO cannot produce reunification for them by force, it has a diplomacy for peaceful reunification directed to this end. Above all, serious discussion of disengagement by the West would greatly strengthen the forces of freedom in the satellite states. A British journalist who visited Budapest last winter tells how, the day after the *New York Times* published a story that America was contemplating negotiations for disengagement, the Communist secret police walked up to people in the streets to say they were not really Communists at all. A day later, when the State Department denied the story, Budapest reverted to the normal terror.

I do not, of course, insist that the particular proposal I have outlined here is the only possible basis for a military disengagement. There is an infinite range of possible compromises between the present extremes of Western and Soviet policy. On the other hand, the West must make up its mind on a few specific alternatives before it seriously enters negotiation.

Most of the objections which are commonly made against disengagement imply distrust of the Western peoples rather than distrust of the Russians. It is said that the Atlantic Alliance will not survive in any form if its leaders once suggest that Soviet military hostility is not an absolute danger which can be met only by absolute military strength on the Western side. But the fact is that not one of the countries in NATO really believes this—and not one is acting as if it did. Nothing will destroy NATO faster than to base its whole policy on assumptions which everyone believes to be false. Already there is a real danger that NATO, instead of becoming the framework within which its members reconcile their foreign policies as a whole, will become the symbol of a vanished stage in the cold war, increasingly isolated from the real diplomatic interests of its member states.

For the alternative to a collective study of disengagement now is not the survival of NATO in its original form. It is the rapid disintegration of NATO as each of its major members in turn seeks private negotiations with the Soviet Union for national disengagement. There are signs of this already. Yet independent national approaches to Russia are bound to fail—it would be only too easy for the Soviet Union to play off one Western country against another and finally make great gains at the expense of all. If NATO is to survive at all, it must adapt its diplomatic as well as its military posture to the changes of the last few years: it must offer a collective policy for a European settlement which offers greater stability and greater justice. So far it has miserably failed to fulfill this vital function. The next 12 months may be its last unless it faces the new challenge revealed by Hungary.

Harvard, Here I Come

by RICHARD L. STROUT

WOULD anyone in the audience like to endow a small college? It would cost you, as I figure it, about $4 million. That is a tidy sum but you could deduct something from your income tax and they might name it after you. Muggins House! Think how long immortality lasts.

Harvard would like five more undergraduate colleges. She has seven already. They are called "Houses" and subdivide the three upper classes into intimate corporate units like Oxford. All told, Harvard is trying to raise $82.5 million in a three-year endowment drive designed to keep the place out in front (as its graduates modestly affirm) and a jump ahead of population and inflation.

Well, well. I was not doing my fiscal thinking in terms of millions when I got back to Cambridge in 1918. My financial problem was how to raise $50 to get out of uniform. I had bought a chaste but quietly rich outfit after Plattsburg—it must have cost all of $100; overcoat, shirts, riding breeches and those leather leggings my wife is still trying to throw out of the attic. If I were giving my life for my country I wanted to do it in style. I looked exactly like General Pershing. Then came the blow; the war stopped. I was off the federal payroll, back in college, hopelessly in debt (*i.e.*, $85) and possessed a gaudy uniform as out of place in Sever Hall as a bikini at a wake.

The Crimson ran a snippy editorial saying that exheroes ought to get back into civvies quick. Harvard builds character and that is where I got mine. My parents had financed me and I felt guilty that I had not kept the war going longer. I tried avoiding crowded places and sneaking along in shadows but looks got more and more disapproving. Harold Laski told me long afterward that when I and my roommate (similarly apparelled) clumped up to his modest flat to attend Government 20-o he

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thought we were minions of Rep. Ham Fish, sent to spy on him.

Well, the automatic I brought back from war came in handy, anyway. It produced one of my happiest memories. We sat there in the bare dormitory room—my roommate and I—surveying each other's distasteful uniform and the bleak prospect of being social pariahs. "Out of the uniform by Christmas!" paraphrased George darkly, with a look that would have blighted Henry Ford. A vista stretched before us of chile con carne and Max Keezer.

There was an odd "ping" from the far side of our fireplace whose back made a common wall with the fireplace in the next room. Our neighbors were apparently shooting a .22 against the brick. Without giving the matter much consideration I took out the big automatic and banged a lead .45 slug against our side of the fireplace which knocked a lower brick right out. We could hear it scuttling across the floor amid what sounded like a twitter of excitement.

We found out later that our neighbors were a musical chap named Virgil Thomson and a lad with the odd notion that he could snap photographs in color, named Leopold Damrosch Mannes. Now and then in later years I notice that Thomson has written a new concerto, and I don't know how much Eastman paid Mannes for his color process (basic, I am told, for modern photography) but the important thing, of course, was knocking out the brick. It created a kind of spiritual catharsis. No doubt a modern psychiatrist would have fun with the incident and it certainly helped in a difficult adjustment.

Our class had a lot of adjusting to do. In fact the class of 1919 for anybody who had the misfortune to belong to it was one of the least promising in history. We never had any class spirit. Efforts at cohesion were in vain. Nobody loved us. When we left everybody was glad. Even today as I look over the alumni donations our class is always at the bottom and there is a significant absence of those bright, breezy tidbits of news about '19 which you find about other classes in *The Bulletin*. We remain dour to the end. Fate has dogged us ever since, there was an effort to hold a slambang 25th reunion but it was a flop; another war then was going on.

Two years before we reached Cambridge the world had begun singing "Tipperary"; when we got to the serene Yard the guns were booming closer; we spent a lot of time marching up and down and spiritedly digging make-believe ROTC trenches, and every now and then before a tough examination some public-spirited acquaintance would duck off to Canada and enlist. Finally came the *Lusitania*.

After that a few got killed but most of us just drilled some more. I remember being assigned, of all things, to be a bayonet instructor. I wince every time I think of it in middle age. Me, with a bayonet. One instruction, I remember, was that if the bayonet got stuck you discharged the piece and pulled it through on the other side.

Then suddenly it was all over. We scrambled back to Cambridge in the vast ignoble rush of American disarmament, trying to get a degree under the wire without losing a year. We were in a terrible hurry.

One thing I will say, when the remnants of the class drifted back something brief and electric passed over the Yard and over every campus in America. We pretended we were cynical but at heart we were pathetically eager. Oh, how desperate we were to ask questions and get answers! The world was new-born and America had cracked out of its egg.

For the time being the fascinating thing was to watch the old world falling apart. I don't see how students of social behavior kept their balance. Prohibition was trying to create abstinence by law. Black stocking bathing suits were going out along with Stanley Steamers. Manners and mores were in eruption. Th re was a new relationship between the sexes. There was a new word, "necking."

A Washington acquaintance of mine went up to New York recently and bought four blackmarket tickets for *My Fair Lady* for which he paid $76. He came back awed and pleased, for he had achieved a symbol of maturity and sophistication. I know just how he felt because about this time, despite insolvency, I took a Wellesley girl to the theatre and bought three tickets, one for her, one for me, and one for the chaperone. Yes, chaperone. A duenna was required in that strange, far-off day—a day that the moderns never knew and that the historians haven't yet

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discovered. You had to pay the chaperone's railroad fare and taxi and even buy her a withered flower or two. In short, you hired somebody to spoil the fun.

I do not know when this preposterous system ended or how, but when it was abolished finally I am persuaded it was because it made sex so preposterously romantic. It distorted all reasonable values and stimulated even the coldest. Why, the slight pressure of a finger got the voltage in 1919 of a dozen casual kisses today. You disagree? —All right, when did you last hire a chaperone? Such a system put the female particularly at a disadvantage. She was hit at her most vulnerable point—pity. That is the chink in woman's armor. The least attractive youth needed merely to present himself with a mournful air and a chaperone to win sympathy. How could any girl resist the poor boob under those circumstances? I don't know how many misalliances it promoted. Women finally abolished the preposterous system and, of course, instantly regained their natural ascendancy over man.

I got to meditating on these things the other day when Harvard called in some reporters and writers in connection with the new endowment campaign. Pointing to a chart showing annual enrollment in "behavioral science" classes (mostly sociology and psychology) Professor Samuel A. Stouffer noted a big upsurge in 1945-46 and observed: "War classes! They came back in uniform and I guess they thought we had the answers." He added, a little sadly, "I'm not sure we did. But we gave 'em everything we had."

Yes, I know. The professors did their best for us. Maybe they thought they owed us something. What a galaxy I had! Briggs and Kittredge in English, Sam Morison and Albert Bushnell Hart in history; Ripley and Carver and Laski in economics—Carver fervently preaching the old verities three times a week and Laski knocking them on the head in the evening class. It was intoxicating. There was not time enough. The world suddenly had wonder.

Our graduation year saw the wave of Wilsonian idealism crest and curve and crash. That was our start in life. Soon Harding was trying to put America back in its egg again. We had a long, long way to go but some of us never forgot the words of Wilson nor what some of the professors tried to tell us in that final year. . . .

WHAT justification has Harvard today to ask for $82.5 million? Why some worthy small institutions have hardly enough to scrape by! Harvard is unperturbed. The appeal is directed particularly to the 45,000 graduates of the college itself, not the graduate schools for this is not technically a university drive.

Harvard seems perfectly certain that it will raise the sum—a tenth of it is pledged already. The "shopping list" includes $15 million for library endowment, $25 million or so for Houses and dormitories, $21 million

for professors' salaries, and the rest for assorted equipment, largely new buildings.

If there is an excuse for such a sum, I think it is because Harvard and a few other institutions are a bulwark against the anti-intellectualism of our time. They are strong enough to look candidly at the contemporary scene. Their salaries are large enough so that it is hard to condescend to them and to learning. It was a sure instinct, I think, that led Senator McCarthy, in his prime, to level his attack unerringly at Harvard and President Pusey.

These privately-endowed institutions are undoubtedly rich. Harvard pays the highest professors' salaries in the country. If Harvard raises the present salary ceiling of $18-$19,000 to the $25,000 which it wistfully seeks, a thrill will go over the whole profession. The loyal alumni in many state legislatures will then decide to do something about salaries in their own local alma mater, too, because Harvard has upped the union scale. Even so, they probably won't pay the profs as much as the second-team football coach.

A McGraw-Hill study shows the average salary of an American full professor still buys less than it did in 1940. The report tells how the recruiting officers of one of the big industrial companies recently came to a campus and offered five of the seniors higher pay, to start working for the company when they graduated in June, than the salary received by any member of the faculty. The seniors, of course, promptly went to their professors for advice. Imagine what this sort of thing does to the morale of a faculty.

Theoretically tax-supported state universities might lead the way in higher education but more often than not, I think, they get diverted. They trip off down the primrose bowl of athletics and starve the faculty. In England and America the leadership still largely lies with privately-endowed institutions. At home, in one way or another, Harvard sets the pace. For that pace I think the big new drive has importance to all other colleges in the United States.

Ho-hum. . . . It was a blue serge suit with narrow cuffs, I think, that I bought—that first one after the war.

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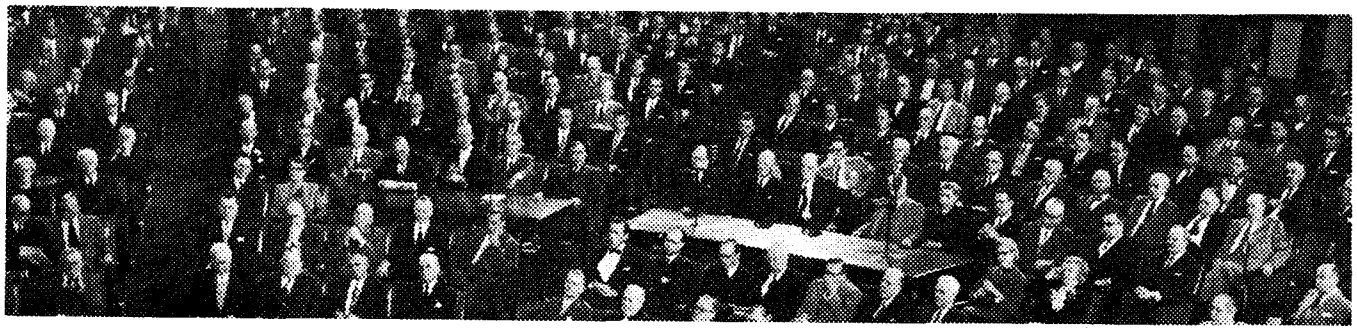

What's the Matter with Congress?

by HOWARD E. SHUMAN

LAST WEEK, *The New Republic's* editorial, "Captain, My Captain," said publicly what many competent Washington observers have been saying privately for weeks: Dwight D. Eisenhower is President in little more than name. He is not asserting the authority of his office. He continues "to defer, delay, decline."

The editorial was probably correct, also, in stating that it is idle to expect ". . . . that order be restored by an assertion of Democratic Congressional leadership." But having admitted this, it does not follow that Congress has no responsibilities. And while Congress is inherently limited in its functions, it is being prevented today from doing what it *can* do by needless and senseless obstructions. Conservative and sectional forces have set up roadblocks which are making it nearly impossible to move forward with progressive legislation. In this period of Presidential abdication, those who want to go forward must of necessity turn their attention to how some of these barriers can be removed. If there is to be even some modest measure of protection for the public welfare, Congressional institutions themselves must be re-examined and revised.

As anyone who has observed Congress knows, proponents of change must wheel their pet projects through and around a formidable series of obstacles before the projects become law, while those who oppose change may impose a veto at any one of many way-stations along the legislative route. The system of checks and balances —of which George Norris said in a cynical mood that "the politicians have the checks, and the special interests the balances"—is meant to protect the *status quo*. The most obvious of these "checks" is the equal representation of each state, thus allowing the eight largest states with almost half the population to have only one-sixth the Senators or a number equal to that of the eight smallest states with less than 3 percent of the population. There is no way, short of a constitutional amendment, to change this fact.

But some facts about Congress are not immutable. And these facts include the gerrymandering of Congressional districts by state legislatures, the seniority system, the absence of party caucuses, the nature of the committee system, the exercise of power by the "inner circle"—a system which punishes party loyalty and rewards irregularity—and the intricately designed rules, including the filibuster, which protect the interests of a regional minority.

II.

The problem of under-representation of liberal sentiment in the Congress differs only in degree from the same under-representation in the states themselves. Because the state legislatures draw the boundary lines for Congressional districts, even seats in the House of Representatives are so gerrymandered that rural and conservative districts have an advantage of about 60 House seats. These 60 seats can make the difference between bold Congressional action and the irresolution bordering on chaos that we have today.

The remedy lies in proper enforcement of Constitutional provisions and legislation requiring states to set up contiguous and equally populated districts. A determined group in Congress could and should force this issue at every opportunity.

The seniority system is another artificial device enabling a conservative coalition to dominate Congress. In the Senate not a single major chairmanship is held by a Northern liberal from any one of the eight states where almost half our population lives. But the Deep South has eight chairmen and the border states two. Four others are held by Senators from states which rank 36th, 37th, 39th and 42nd in population. Only one of the 15

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chairmen is from even a moderately large Northern state. This is with the Democratic Party in charge.

The Republican picture is little better. Eight ranking Republican members of Senate committees are from the Mississippi Valley where right-wing Republicans dominate policy. States ranking 44th, 45th and 48th in population have three others. Only four ranking members are from any one of the eight states which make up half the population.

The seniority system favors either the very small, the one-party Southern, or the right-wing trans-Mississippi Republican states. Urban (which is to say, usually liberal) forces are deliberately counted out. This is a wholly artificial situation, required neither by the Constitution nor the written rules of the Senate.

The consequences of this system are disastrous for liberal Senators. If they behave, accept the system and do not upset party unity—a euphemism, in the case of Democrats, for doing nothing to offend the South—they will be fed a few political crumbs. If they fight a bold and lonely battle, the seniority system by some mysterious process becomes less than sacred when applied to them. A Harry Byrd is rewarded with the chairmanship of the Finance Committee after bolting to Eisenhower in 1952, but the request for a key committee post by the Party's 1956 Vice Presidential nominee is shunted aside. For the conservative, seniority is a perpetual free ride. For the liberal it is a dizzy merry-go-round of futility. It penalizes, in particular, the large, two-party states where a Senator's tenure is insecure. With the Republicans in power, Congress is dominated by their right-wing—the Knowlands, the Bridges and the Brickers. The country soon decides that it wants a change—a vote for a Republican is said to be a vote for McCarthy. Then there are new elections. Liberal Democrats replace Republican Senators in the large swing states.

Congress is then organized by the Democrats. Did I say the Democrats? I mean the Southerners, who are *not* from swing states. Liberal pledges and Democratic Party platforms are left behind as "campaign oratory." At the *next* election a vote for a Democrat becomes a vote for Eastland! Liberals of both parties are spurned by the voters; they are knocked off the escalator of seniority while their conservative brethren rise higher. This cycle could be called a political *La Ronde*.

A modest remedy would be to have rotating committee chairmen for which there is ample precedent in Congressional joint committees. Appointments and chairmanships based on seniority would be kept, but a chairman could serve for only one Congress. By this procedure we would preserve automatic selection, while avoiding much personal in-fighting and jockeying for place and position. We would also diminish the power and influence of a single chairman or a single sectional interest.

Another major Congressional weakness is that except for casual meetings at the beginning of a session, party caucuses are rarely held, they are never binding, and when held are seldom devoted to policy discussions.

One example of the results will suffice. At the moment the leaders of both House and Senate are from Texas. The basic economic interests of Texas are gas and oil. No political figure from Texas could survive if he fought the principal interests of his state. It is too much to expect even the bravest Texas politician to slash his own wrists by voting for federal regulation of natural gas.

Yet the Democratic Party, if it is to be true to the traditions it espouses nationally, must oppose the outrageous privileges demanded by the oil companies. What, after all, is the difference between one party—the Republican—which lets big business in by the front door, and another party—the Democratic—which lets it sneak in the back door?

A majority of the Democrats in the party and in the Congress opposed the off-shore oil "give-away" and removing the regulations on natural gas. But the voters may have understandably been confused. For Democratic (Texas) leadership, loyal to what it conceived to be the interests of Texas, did use the machinery of the Democratic Party to promote legislation opposed by a clear majority in the party.

In the House the Speaker has great influence over appointments to the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee. That committee protects the 27.5 percent depletion bonanza for the big oil companies. When the Democrats are in power it functions as the party's committee on committees. In turn a majority sympathetic to the oil and gas industries is appointed to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee where gas legislation is sent. Further, when the gas regulatory bill was last before the House and Senate, the leadership used its great powers—the scheduling of bills, future committee appointments, the numerous legislative employees who round up the votes—to advance this legislation that was opposed by the majority of Democrats.

The result was that while the Democrats in 1956 had a farm issue in the Midwest (or thought they did) and a public power issue in the Far West (which they did), they had no effective campaign issues in the big cities and the East.

Related to this problem is the nature of the committee system. In the British House of Commons the House establishes policy while the committees iron out the wrinkles. In Congress, the committees, for the most part, determine policy and their parent bodies carry them out. As one enlightened Senator has pointed out, action on the Senate floor is like a Greek tragedy. Real action takes place off-stage and precedes both speeches and votes.

The Committees themselves are unrepresentative of

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the Congress. The Senate Finance Committee is unadulterated ultra-conservatism. The Interior Committee seldom has members from other than Western states. Rural Congressmen flock to the Agriculture committees. Sectional and class axes grind in unison.

Brave indeed is the Senator or Representative who rises on the floor to knock out a "pork-barrel" appropriation, to fight a special interest subsidy, or to argue against a policy which a committee has established. I have seen both the chairman and members of committees take personal offense at a non-committee member who has the temerity to challenge a committee's action on the floor. And I have seen the leadership angered when a member fought for a plank in the Democratic platform to which the leadership was opposed. In these situations other chairmen rush to the rescue of their embattled leader, and those members who get along by going along are shoved into the breach to stop the attack.

Even when the Senate or House successfully overrides a committee action, the victory is often lost in conference for it is the committee chairmen who determine the members of conference committees.

These defects could be overcome, at least in part, by regular party meetings. Although rigid party obedience is undesirable, party meetings could determine general policies and programs for which at least the committees and the leadership would be committed to work.

There is, finally, the "filibuster" rule in the Senate. Some like *New York Times* correspondent William S. White in his book on the Senate, *The Citadel,* have argued that unlimited debate is needed to protect minority rights and prevent a ruthless temporary majority from acting too fast. If our states had unitary systems; if urban groups were fairly represented in their legislatures; if seats in the House of Representatives were not gerrymandered; if the Senate were based on population; if there were no system of checks and balances; if the seniority system did not exist; and if committees and their chairmen were more representative; then a good case might be made for unlimited debate. But in existing circumstances fears of a ruthless temporary majority are wholly unfounded. The real problem is the opposite—the power of permanent, regional minorities.

III.

These are some of the things that are the matter with Congress, preventing its assuming its proper responsibilities. Can they be corrected? If we take comfort and guidance from the past the answer is "yes." There was a time not so long ago when the Democratic Party in the Senate reflected the views of the party in the country. The result was one of our great periods of reform. The story is told by Claude Bowers in his *Life of John W. Kern.*

When the Senate was organized in March, 1913, Sen. John Kern of Indiana, who had been in the Senate for only two years, was chosen chairman of the Democratic caucus, the steering committee, and as floor leader. Kern, who had been Bryan's running mate in 1908, appointed five new members to the nine-man Democratic steering committee. They, in turn, set aside the seniority system without compunction. Said *the Literary Digest:*

> . . . the reorganization of the Senate has been accomplished in a way paralleling the overturn of Cannonism in the house by practical abolition of the seniority rule in making up committees.

In turn, the committee rules were reformed. Chairmen were deprived of their arbitrary control. A majority of a committee could call meetings at any time and consider any pending bill. Appointments to subcommittees and conference committees could be determined by a simple majority of the majority members. As Bowers summed up:

> Thus the election of Senator Kern to the leadership of the majority at the beginning of the first Wilson Administration, with all that followed . . . marked a revolutionary change in the United States Senate, broke down the fetish of the seniority rule, smashed superannuated precedents and traditions, made difficult if not impossible the domination of the body by a small coterie of men entrenched in powerful chairmanships, and did more toward the democratization of the Senate than had been done in half a century.

In recent weeks we have seen a spate of articles complaining of the absence of new ideas for liberals to champion. I rise to offer a suggestion. Could not a campaign for Congressional reform stir men to act? Some may argue that there is little "political mileage" or political sex appeal in the reform of little-known procedures, or the modification of intricately designed rules and practices of Congress. But what political sex appeal did there seem to be in changing the rules of the House to provide that the Rules Committee should be elected by the House membership rather than appointed by the Speaker? Yet this *was* the issue by which George Norris clipped the wings of Speaker Cannon. What political mileage was there in changing the date of convening Congress from March 4th to January 3rd? Yet, this became the popular "Lame Duck" amendment. In January, 1957, Senate liberals did catch the country's eye—if only for a moment—when they dramatized the intricacies and evils of Rule 22 and the filibuster.

The reform of the seniority system, the revival of party caucuses, the proper distribution of House seats, the subordination of Congressional committees to general party policies, the overthrow of the filibuster could, I am persuaded, not only be made exciting objectives, but these reforms would lead to a restoration of Congressional responsibility. In the absence of Presidential leadership such a restoration becomes a national necessity.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Case of Ezra Pound

by Jack LaZebnik

EZRA POUND will probably die at St. Elizabeth's Hospital for the mentally ill in Washington. Arraigned for treason but never brought to trial, called insane (mentally incompetent) although he continues to publish with great critical success, Pound has not been out of the hospital grounds for eleven years now, held ("in the long, dim corridor inhabited by the ghosts of men") as Archibald MacLeish puts it. MacLeish sees Pound there as "a conscious mind capable of the most complete human awareness . . . incarcerated among minds which are not conscious and cannot be aware," in an enforced association which "produces a horror which is not relieved either by the intelligence of doctors or by the tact of administrators or even by the patience and kindliness of the man who suffers it."

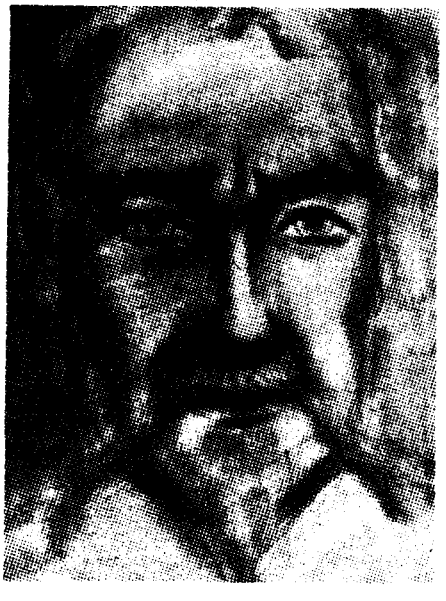
Yet, the plea for Pound's freedom runs constantly among those aware of his situation. In the New Directions booklet of tributes to Pound on his 70th birthday, Hemingway wrote,

> . . . Will gladly pay tribute to Ezra, but what I would like to do is get him the hell out of St. Elizabeth's, have him given a passport and allow him to return to Italy where he is justly valued as a poet. I believe he made bad mistakes in the war in continuing to broadcast for that sod Mussolini after we were fighting him. But I also believe he has paid for them in full and his continued confinement is a cruel and unusual punishment.

It is believed by some that the insanity verdict was a convenient "out" for the authorities. Hugh Kenner, in *Poetry*, November, 1952, wrote that "it has prevented the ideas expressed in the broadcasts from being inspected," that Pound has recited those ideas in prose and poetry for many years, and that his war-time gestures are intelligible only to those who have studied closely his Cantos and his essays on reading and culture. An inspection of Pound's Italian broadcasts (available on microfilm from the Library of Congress) does reveal what MacLeish has called the strident raging of the Cantos. But Robert Fitzgerald observed that few people seem to have read the transcripts of the talks

> . . . and I imagine few would care to . . . I could take a great deal of rage against the snakes of finance and I could well see the point of scorn for Roosevelt's public insincerities. Even anti-Semitism could be forgiven if it were what it had seemed to me in Pound before — an almost innocent vice partly echoing the Potash and Perlmutter era of comedy in America. But it was not like that, nor were the other contents in general anything but chaotic and unworthy. . . . I think that Pound at 20 or 30 would have thought hanging an entirely appropriate reward for the author of those radio scripts!

Pound's economic theories, the flow of his radio talks and the blood of his Cantos, originate from the Social Credit plan of Major C. H. Douglas and the doctrine of "free money" of Silvio



Portrait of Pound, 1954
by La Martinelli

Gesell. Gesell (1862-1930) wished to eliminate non-labor incomes, such as interest and rent. He proposed issuing "shrinking money" (*Schwundgeld*) which would weekly lose 0.1 percent of its face value, under a purchasing power control. Thus, such money could not be withheld from the market; it would cease to draw primary interest and become free. Douglas blamed our poverty-in-the-midst-of-plenty and the boom-depression cycles on the control of production and credit by a few financiers. Let us, he said, form one great holding company of securities, the United States, Inc., for example, compute the total national wealth, and, upon this, declare to all citizens a certain national dividend to be paid monthly. With the control of prices, wages, profits, with the consumers' demands parallel with production, the national dividend becomes the difference between production and consumption. Establish an equitable distribution of social credit; maintain private enterprise under a controlled profit system.

THE two theories (in their more complex and detailed forms) became part of Pound's poetry. Our major problem, he says, is that of distribution. In 1930 in his *ABC of Economics*, he called for "the shortening of the working day . . . to keep credit distributed among a greater part of the population. . . . It is not the whole answer." He described the place of control of credit as

> . . . a dark room back of a bank, hung with deep purple curtains. No one must see what happens. What happened in the Bank of the USA before Mr. Van Buren set up an Independent government treasury? . . . Inflation for the benefit of the few.

He defined himself as a Jeffersonian republican: " . . . you can throw in Confucius and Van Buren, but you must distinguish between 1820 and 1930 and you must bring your Jefferson up to date." His preconception of democracy

> . . . as it existed in the minds of Jefferson and Van Buren, is that the best men . . . will take the trouble to place their ideas and policies before the majority with such clarity and persuasiveness that the majority will accept their guidance. . . . The preconception of let us say the Adamses, or aristodemocratic parties is that priv-

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ilege, a little of it, will breed a sense of responsibility. . . . It seems fairly proved that privilege does NOT breed a sense of responsibility. . . . 95 percent of all privileged classes seem to believe that the main use of privileges is to be exempt from responsibility. . . . Obviously no best, no even good governing class can be spineless . . . "good" must include a capacity for action, some sense of relation between action and mere thought or talk.

As others cling to parts of his ideas, ignoring the disagreeable elements, so Pound clung to parts of Mussolini while apparently ignoring his baser actions. Pound frequently quoted Mussolini's pre-power protest, "we are tired of a government in which there is no responsible person having a hind name, a front name, and an address," a point we might make good use of today. He printed on his letterheads the dictator's maxim, "Liberty is not a right but a duty." Admiring the ostensible encouragement Mussolini gave artists, Pound settled in Italy. From Rapallo for 20 years he was, as Yvor Winters says,

> . . . the most influential critic in American letters, so far as practical results were concerned; and when he was replaced, it was by his disciple Eliot, who did little save restate his ideas in a more genteel style.

"Am I American?" he wrote to Hubert Creekmore.

> . . . Yes, and bugger the present state of the country, the utter betrayal of the American Constitution, the filth of the Universities and the . . . system of publication whereby you can buy Lenin, Trotsky (the messiest mutt of the lot), Stalin for 10 cents and 25 cents, and it takes *seven* years to get a set of John Adams at about 30 dollars.

Long before his radio talks, Pound had spoken against

> . . . advocating fascism in and for America . . . I think the American system *de jure* is probably quite good enough, if there were only 500 men with guts and the sense to *use* it, or even with the capacity for answering letters, or printing a paper.

Apparently he had no idea that what he was doing would get him into trouble. He did not swerve from his belief that he was

> . . . only trying to tell the people of Europe and America how they could avoid war by learning the facts about money.

Pound easily could have become an Italian citizen, saving himself from later grief. But regularly he went to the American embassy to maintain his United States citizenship; he wanted, he says, to reaffirm his faith in the Constitution. Early in 1942 he made an attempt to get on the diplomatic train that took Americans from Italy to Lisbon for passage to the United States, but he was refused permission to join the group. Consequently, he remained in Rapallo. He says he was asked by the Italians if he would make some broadcasts. Anything that would save mankind was worth a try. He maintains that he was not forced to speak, that "no scripts were prepared for me by anybody, and I spoke only when I wanted to." At the beginning of each talk it was stated that he had no connection with the Italian government, that he was speaking only as an American citizen. He wanted to save the Constitution, to warn the people against usurers who, he said, destroy us.

His radio talks fit a description Yeats gave the Cantos.

> . . . *nervous obsession, nightmare,* stammering confusion; he is an economist, poet, politician, raging at malignants with inexplicable characters and motives, grotesque figures out of a child's book of beasts.

(Like *Ulysses*, the Cantos are based upon characters from history and fiction, upon an economy, motives, politics, all explicable within the poem's massive epic organization). When he was brought to the United States in an Army C-54 on November 18, 1945, he declared:

> If freedom of speech doesn't apply on the radio—in an age of radio . . . I'd die for an idea all right, but to die for an idea I've forgotten is too much. Does anyone have the faintest idea what I said?

That is, he did not realize he had said anything to arrest him for.

> **After years of robbing the country, dipping into the treasury, years of frothing at the mouth about Mussolini and Hitler, in the middle of January Roosevelt comes out with a discourse and every single item in it that has a trace of sanity in it is imitated from Mussolini or from Hitler. After twenty years of Judaic propaganda, Lenin and Trotsky stuff, crowding American history out of the schools, wild inferiority hate against Europe, dear old Delano comes out with a mixed bag in which two-thirds of the program is Fascist with, of course the essential part missing. EZRA POUND,**
> ***broadcasting from Rome, February 26, 1942***

He had gone to the authorities in Italy in 1945 to tell them he heard they were looking for him. After some deliberation and incredulity, they accepted him as a prisoner. The report on his confinement at Pisa, where *The Pisan Cantos* had their birth, is best found in the Cantos themselves and in "The Background of *The Pisan Cantos*" by David Park Williams (*Poetry*, January, 1949) who was a literate guard at the Disciplinary Training Center where Pound was interned from May through October, 1945. The Center possessed a half dozen cages and sixty "boxes" which served as cells for "incorrigibles." Dangerous prisoners, such as the Lane gang members (Canto LXXIV), were placed in cages made of heavy wire, "enabling guards," Williams says, "to keep a 24-hour watch on those within." Apparently, the Army feared that Italian fascists would attempt a rescue of Pound, for a special cage was built for him—the "gorilla cage" of Canto LXXXIII.

"Ha, I was a dangerous criminal!" Pound said later.

> . . . They thought I was a dangerous wild man and were scared of me. I had a guard night and day and when they built a cage out of iron mats from airplane runways and put me in the cage for the merriment of all, they posted a guard outside. Soldiers used to come up to the cage and look at me. Some of them brought me food. Old Ez was a prize exhibit.

He slept on the cement floor of the cage ("so kissed the earth after sleeping on concrete"). Tar paper was spread across the top to keep off the sun; he was given a pup tent to rig up inside the bars at night. The closing couplet of *The Pisan Cantos* thus takes on poignancy:

> If the hoar frost grip thy tent
> Thou wilt give thanks when night is spent.

No one ever tried to rescue Pound.

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> Is there any race left in England? Has it any will left to survive? You can tear slaughtered Ireland, but will that save you? I doubt it. Nothing can save you, save an affirmation that you are English.
>
> Hore Belisha is not, Isaacs is not. No Sassoon is an Englishman. No Rothschild is English, no Streicker is English, no Roosevelt is English, no Baruch, Morgenthau, Cohen, Lehman, Warburg, Kahn, Schiff, Sipp or Solomon was ever yet born Anglo-Saxon. And it is for this filth that you fight. It is for this filth that you have murdered your empire. It is this filth that selects, elects your politicians.
>
> EZRA POUND,
> *broadcasting from Rome,*
> *March 3, 1942*

Much of *The Pisan Cantos* describes the scene: the barbed-wire enclosure, the constant figures of the guards, the trainees (as the prisoners were called) punished with close-order drill after dark (they were given 14 hours of training daily), "sweatin' it out to the bumm drum" of the prison band with guards on horseback keeping watch over it "as the young horse whinnies against the tubes." Pound clung to a worn volume of Confucius. He read hour upon end, "or simply sat," Williams says, "and combed his ragged beard, watching the Pisa road where passers-by and occasional white oxen were visible"—

> and there was a smell of mint under the tent flaps
> especially after the rain
> and a white ox on the road toward Pisa
> as if facing the tower
> dark sheep in the drill field and on wet days were clouds
> in the mountain as if under the guard roosts. (Canto LXXIV)

Because of his poor health, Pound was moved from the cage after a few weeks to a pyramidal tent in the medical area, where he spent most of the summer and part of the fall of 1945. A prisoner gave him a packing-case for a table and there he was able to write. No one was allowed to speak to him at any time. But some did:

> and the greatest charity
> to be found among those who have not observed regulations.
>
> • • •
>
> They didn't know what to do with me, so they put old Ez in a cage and flew him back to the United States. . . . They kept me in confinement on a starvation diet when I first got here, and I didn't see the sun for months.

He was arraigned for treason based on opinions aired via radio—the first American ever to be so charged. He called it a "damned fool idea" that he had betrayed his country; he was, he insisted, bent upon saving it.

That insistence became part of a nine-sentence report by four psychiatrists, three for the government, one retained by Pound's defense, which declared him mentally incompetent—his "self-appointed mission" to "save the Constitution." The report spoke of his "uncertain living," his being "eccentric," his "advancing years," called him "abnormally grandiose," referred to his personality's "further distortion"—in effect, a good description of the independent artist. The report was considered valid and Pound was delivered to St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Anacostia. He was at first placed with the criminally insane in the violent ward. He later said:

> I met a very pleasant chap. We had many interesting conversations. He seemed no crazier than I. When I found out that he had been committed for killing his wife, I reconsidered my position.

At length, he was shifted to a more tranquil section, and there he remains.

For eleven years he has held his own court where he has been able, primarily in warm weather when he has been permitted afternoons outside the building (but never outside the hospital grounds) if accompanied by his wife. The Pounds have been married 43 years; Mrs. Pound's maiden name was, seriously and perhaps as symbolic and fanciful as anything in the Cantos, Dorothy Shakespear. She never misses a day at the hospital. When she arrives, Pound greets her with a wave and a kiss on her cheek.

And there, in a loose sweatshirt, an old GI overcoat, baggy trousers, heavy white socks, bedroom slippers, long underwear showing at his ankles, Pound sits on a chair warm afternoons on the wide, lush, and sweeping lawns of the grounds and peers at his visitors from beneath a green eyeshade. For his 71 years he is vigorous, still rough-bearded, still much as Eliot described him in 1946: " . . . his restless energy—in which it was difficult to distinguish the energy from the restlessness and the fidgets . . . a kind of resistance against growing into any environment." Actually, he has the problem of too many visitors who seek advice, aid, answers, literary judgments, and just the thrill of looking at him. Evidently, rather than spend time with the planned intellectual games of the hospital, he has chosen to work on such matters as his *The Classic Anthology Defined by Confucius*, published in 1954, and on further Cantos (*Section: Rock Drill*) and translations.[1] In an effort to organize his thinking, he has concentrated a good deal on chess.

As far back as 1949 Dr. Frederic Wertham, author of *The Show of Violence* and other psychiatric studies of criminal insanity,

> . . . proved to the satisfaction of my own scientific conscience and that of many of my colleagues that according to the very statement given out by the authorities Ezra Pound was not legally insane and did not have any major disease which would render him legally insane.

And in the *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, Dr. Wertham further explored the insanity decision: in Italy, Pound was declared "sane and able to stand trial for treason" by Army psychiatrists; if he had been tried, by now he would have served his sentence and would have been released along with Axis Sally and the others.

Ironically, Pound's possibilities of being set free were probably damaged by his having received the Bollingen Award for *The Pisan Cantos*. A furor arose, not only among those preoccupied with literature, but also from housewives who wanted him hanged and businessmen who would have him shot—as well as from readers who fought to shed their tears over him. The Fellows of the Library of Congress, who made the award, were called fascists and "new authoritarians"—T. S. Eliot, one of the Fellows, was blamed for controlling the committee's votes, although as Malcolm Cowley pointed out (in *The New Republic*), Eliot "neither nominated the

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1 His translation of Sophocles' *The Women of Trachis* is being published this week (New Directions; $3).

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Pisan Cantos for the prize nor argued that it was the best book to choose; he merely cast one vote for it among eleven." The question of the separation of poet from his work flamed again. One of the Fellows of the Library asserts that "Our job wasn't to pass on the question of Pound's loyalty; we were giving a prize for a book of poems." Cowley further stresses the Fellows' view that other virtues exist as well as the patriotic: "Originality, learning, sharpness of image, purity of phrase and a strict literary conscience . . . and they are present in Pound's work along with his contemptible politics." By giving him the prize, the Fellows were defending, they insist, "that objective perception of value on which any civilized society must rest."

The battle spread to the Congress, where a Representative was busy calling modern art Communistic (the Communists call it capitalistic and decadent). An investigation of the Bollingen Award was demanded. Now the Library of Congress has been forced to cancel not only the prize in literature, but also its awards in music and art. As Cowley remarks:

> . . . The little American republic of letters is under attack by pretty much the same forces as those to which the Russian writers have already yielded: that is, by the people who prefer slogans to poetry and national self-flattery to honest writing.

Pound makes his own plea in one of the most touching and beautiful, and most quoted, of his *Pisan Canto* passages:

> 'Master thyself, then others shall thee beare'
> Pull down thy vanity
> Thou art a beaten dog beneath the hail,
> A swollen magpie in a fitful sun,
> Half black half white
> Nor knowst'ou wing from tail
> Pull down thy vanity
> How mean thy hates
> Fostered in falsity,
> Pull down thy vanity,
> Rather to destroy, niggard in charity,
> Pull down thy vanity,
> I say pull down.
> But to have done instead of not doing this is not vanity
> To have, with decency, knocked
> That a Blunt should open
> To have gathered from the air a live tradition
> or from a fine old eye the unconquered flame
> This is not vanity.
> Here error is all in the not done, all in the diffidence that faltered.

In 1955, Giovanni Papini sent a note t Ambassador Luce:

> In the very moment when the chiefs of the Kremlin are sending back pardoned German war criminals, we cannot believe that the descendants of Penn and of Lincoln, of Emerson and of Walt Whitman, wish to be less generous than the successors of Lenin and Stalin.

"This would be a good year," Heming way said, "to release poets." He said i in 1954.

> **I don't think there is any American law that permits you to shoot Nicholas Butler. It's a pity, but so it is no *ex post facto* laws are to be dreamed of. Not that Frankfurter or any other damn Jew cares a hoot for law, or for the American Constitution.**
>
> EZRA POUND,
> ***broadcasting from Rome,***
> ***April 27, 1943***

Bartering Truth for Salvation

by Harold Weisberg

IN the old and happy days when positivists ruled the semantical universe it was part of one's analytical duty to take on a book such as this. Men were men, words were words, and even theologians were not yet too well versed in the virtues of ambiguity and obscurity.

Dynamics of Faith, by Paul Tillich, Volume Ten in *World Perspectives* edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen (Harper; $2.75).

One could point out errors of fact and logic, confusions of metaphoric usage with factual assertion and the many different ways in which terms are made to do service in situations where they obviously do not apply.

But today there is neither purpose nor hope in such analysis. The new theologians and their existentialist confederates have made a shambles out of any attempt to treat language carefully and, I suspect, are not much concerned over their usage and abusage of such terms, as "God," "faith," "immortality," "miracle," etc. There doesn't seem to be much point in criticizing modern theology since logical consistency and empirical veracity are not considered significant in the great enterprise of bartering truth for salvation and reason for reassuring myth. One can of course hope for a miracle, but then, theologians deny the need and positivists question the possibility.

What can be done? For there comes a time when one must talk clearly about the existence of God and we cannot forever escape our intellectual responsibilities by baptizing contradictions as paradoxes and false propositions as hidden truths.

Much of what Dr. Tillich says in this little book he has said elsewhere and better. Yet some disturbing themes of his thought are repeated here and might bear some comment. Though a much more careful and profound thinker than many of his theological colleagues, Dr. Tillich often fails to distinguish metaphoric usage and statements of alleged matters of fact. One does not ask for anything as preposterous as signal indicators warning us that we are moving from metaphor to flat empirical usage. All one seeks is—at least—the recognition that metaphor is often made to pass muster for factual description and asked the status of confirmed empirical assertion. I wonder too if Tillich, here as elsewhere, has not so broadened his notion of "ultimate concern" as to rob it of all significant meaning. Nor has he provided this reader with valid criteria for distinguishing those "ultimate concerns" which cluster about the concept of God and those which do not.

As for "faith" which is the central concept of this book I am most disappointed. Faith is for Tillich a "total act." It is not the affirmation of a particular proposition through some criterion of intellectual acceptance nor is it the stubbornness which refuses to deny that which lacks all evidence save the conviction of the believer. Faith is a dis-

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position to act, to commit oneself to a course of conduct, to bring the whole of man into action. All we can garner from this employment of the term is that people behave with passion and conviction from a variety of motives. But the crucial thing is to discover what faith is true and what faith is false, or if you prefer, what faiths are true and what faiths are false. No doubt, Dr. Tillich and others would resist this line of analysis, but from Tillich's premises it is perfectly possible to validate beliefs in false gods as well as the true God since the major standard is the faith commitment we make.

If it is said that Dr. Tillich's criterion of faith is not truth but fruitfulness we must recall the shopworn truism that faith in this sense has led men to evil as well as good.

But my quarrel here is not with Tillich. It is with Ruth Nanda Anshen, the editor of the *World Perspectives* series. Mrs. Anshen manages to say so many awful things in her introduction that I can only reproduce some of them here as one example of the verbal madness of the age. We learn from Mrs. Anshen that

> . . . *World Perspectives* is dedicated to the concept of man born out of a universe perceived through a fresh vision of reality.

I don't know if I quite understand this but it can pass. The going gets rough however when we read the following:

> *World Perspectives* endeavors to show that the conception of wholeness, unity, organism is a higher and more concrete conception than that of matter and energy. Thus it would seem that science itself must ultimately pursue the aim of interpreting the physical world of matter and energy in terms of the biological conception of organism.

(Ford Foundation, please note and endow!) Or consider this one:

> The plethoric growth of knowledge has led to a diminution of consciousness as a result of the tendency, due to some modern interpretations of science, to accept as the total truth only limited descriptions of truth.

And yet another:

> History is to be understood as concerned not only with the life of man on this planet but as including also such cosmic influences as interpenetrate our human world.

(It is not clear from the text whether this means men from Mars or messengers of the Deity.)

> . . . Some fossilized forms of . . . positivistic thinking still remain . . . However it is now conceded, out of the influence of Whitehead, Bergson and some phenomenologists that in addition to natural science with its tendency to isolate quantitative values there exists another category of knowledge wherein philosophy, utilizing its own instruments is able to grasp the essence and innermost nature of the Absolute, of reality.

One more quote and then I'm done:

> However, man has now reached the last extremity of denigration. He yearns to

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will review recently-released phonograph records for *The New Republic*. His column will appear only in this Journal.

Mr. Haggin's books include *Music On Records*, *Music In The Nation*, and *The Listener's Musical Companion*. His writings have appeared in *Hound and Horn*, the *New York Herald-Tribune*, and *The Nation*.

"The standard adviser to collectors of non-popular records remains B. H. Haggin. The victim of nobody's advertising, afraid of no manufacturer and impressed by no sacred cows, Mr. Haggin has weekly stuck his nose into the stinkpots of the musical world. His penetrating criticisms of famous interpreters, as well as of mechanical gadgets offered for sale, has exposed many a fake and revealed many a solid value. His general enlightenment about these matters and his ferocious integrity have made his column, if not the Bible, at least the constant counsel to serious collectors of classical disks all over the United States."

VIRGIL THOMSON

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consecrate himself. And so, among the spiritual and moral ruins of the West and of the East a renaissance is prepared beyond the limits of nihilism, darkness and despair.

I am struck most by the phrase "spiritual and moral ruins." I cannot help feeling that Mrs. Anshen and others, noble souls all, ask us to move forward under the banners of ideas and social forms painfully and repeatedly abandoned by mankind. The Absolute, chief character in a neo-Hegelian nightmare, is to be revived. The philosophy of organism in nature long since scuttled by distinguished men of science and philosophy is to provide new "world perspectives."

But Ruth Nanda Anshen and the others are poking about the wrong ruins. They search for some relic of the past which has not yet been consumed by the flames. And in seeking to rescue these charred and still smoldering remains they only intensify the *odium theologicum* of the times.

ON THE BACK COVER

A special invitation is extended to present subscribers who wish to make the New Republic known to others.

Unity in Diversity

by Selig S. Harrison

IN THIS 130-page historical study, Hans Kohn ponders the successful co-existence of the German-speaking, French-speaking and Italian-speaking Swiss "who have for so long fought each other in wars outside Switzerland." He concludes that the strong Swiss heritage of political liberty gives Swiss nationalism its cohesive strength—a verdict profoundly relevant for Asia's new multilingual states with their built-in temptations to totalitarian unity.

Indeed, if Kohn is right, we may be in for a generation of political turmoil in Asia which will make the present decade seem in retrospect almost placid. For while such multilingual states as India (10 major linguistic territories), Pakistan (five), and Indonesia (four) all embarked on independent statehood with a fully panoply of representative institutions, both Indonesia and Pakistan have already shed some of the panoply, and only India, which has just completed its second election, offers substantial hope for the survival of political freedom in Asia.

Nationalism and Liberty: The Swiss Example, by Hans Kohn (Macmillan; $3.25).

Nothing in history even remotely equals the internal adjustment which must be made in each of these Asian states today and in the inevitable composites of tomorrow's Africa. There will be enough economic development to stir inert millions to a new social awareness, but not enough, unless the West shows a new disposition to help to relieve the competition for the limited spoils of progress. Population pressure will only aggravate scarcity, which will in turn provoke unending internal convulsions.

TO SURVIVE, these states mustl find a way of living within themselves demanded of only two Western nations besides Switzerland—Canada and Belgium. The United States, too, is a triumph of unity in diversity, but the melting pot has not demanded that Texans speaking, say, Texi, live in neighborly give-and-take with 47 other states kept conscious of their separate identity by their own languages. It is hardly surprising that in Indonesia President Sukarno should turn to "guided" democracy in the impasse between Javanese and its rivals. But Kohn's study is a warning that enforced unity will only deepen sub-surface tensions, setting off still bigger explosions in the long run.

It was only the discovery of liberty, maintains Kohn, that enabled Switzerland to find itself as a nation. Disunity persisted even though nominally "Switzerland" was established by the Peace of Basle in 1499. Until the Constitution of 1798 displaced the old Confederation, Switzerland was actually no more than

> a loose alliance which disposed neither of an executive authority nor of a legislative body, and which possessed neither a common army nor any common laws. . . . Neither national unity nor democracy characterized Switzerland before the French Revolution.

Until 1798 the sole outward form of Swiss unity was the Diet, "not an elected Parliament representing the nation as in England, but a diplomatic congress of delegates sent there by the sovereign cantons." With no central authority, neutrality was inescapable, and it in turn preserved Swiss unity during the Reformation's religious wars.

Not until the post-1789 nationalist era could the Swiss look back on struggles for constitutional liberty and thus reinterpret their heritage in common political traditions and institutions rather than language or descent. William Tell was the new hero-symbol: the yeoman champion of "the simple peasant and the hard-working burgher" arrayed against the aristocratic oppressor.

THE principles of 1789 inspired both Swiss and British nationalism and indeed, only to such a larger loyalty would the deep-seated Protestant and Catholic loyalties in Switzerland succumb. Kohn paraphrases Pestalozzi, the ideologian of Swiss nationalism, who saw the simple truth that the state

> is only an aggregate of individuals, and the character of this aggregate is determined by the character of the individuals who compose it; therefore, a state which promotes the individuality and autonomy of its citizens assures the strongest and most enduring basis for its own existence.

In short, concludes Kohn, "nations like Switzerland, Britain and the United States, which value individual liberty and tolerance of diversity highest, have developed the securest foundation for their nationhood."

Notes on Contributors

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Correspondence

(*Continued from page 3*)

ficient, noble, eloquent, and some even itty.

As for the executive—why do we connue to run potentially strong leaders ith political experience instead of rafting someone with mass appeal? Ay suggestion for a new face is the ighly respected Bing Crosby. He is ell bred, well educated, amiable, alented, successful, rich, an exemplary amily man and attends church every unday, rain or shine. He could bring ith him technicians who would turn im into a splendid presiding officer n no time, even restoring the top hat to ublic life.

Furthermore, Bing's built-in inertia would be soothing after the strenuous resistance we had to put up against that Adlai Stevenson's determination to make us THINK.

E. R. SAUL

Washington, D. C.

► *Bestor's Fight with Educationists*

SIRS:

ONE WOULD be shocked to find an article on "Ethics in Government" by McCarthy in *The New Republic*. The background of the author might cause some to weigh very carefully the text of the tract. So when we find an article on any educational topic by Arthur Bestor such as his "Educating the Gifted Child" (*NR*, March 4) we need to examine the text carefully of this man who is marching so militantly to the educational "Faith of Our Fathers."

Conclusions drawn in the article may have some virtue but most of us should realize that the running war of Mr. Bestor with professional educators colors much of what he says—and the way he thinks. In a recent article for *US News and World Report* he declares we are less well educated today than we were 50 years ago. Now that is a sensational charge and endears him to the hearts of all levels of malcontents. But let us take note of the deliberately misleading way this is proved. He compared the *percentage* of students in high school taking math and science today with the *percentage* of students in high school 50 years ago that took math and science. Would not the percentage of *high school age* students taking courses in math and science now and 50 years ago be a more realistic figure for comparison—assuming that the taking of those particular courses assures one of being educated?

ELWOOD B. TRAYLOR

Shreveport, Louisiana

The New Republic *welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.*

► *Getlein Un-Pilloried*

SIRS:

I HAD intended writing a note of praise on your selection of a fresh new personality in art criticism—Frank Getlein—when my attention was drawn to some scurrilous remarks about him by a Ruth Wilner (*NR*, March 11). A man with such talent, erudition and naturalness shouldn't be pilloried as a smart-aleck just because he expresses himself in a style that doesn't conform to the usual parrot-like mumbo-jumbo reserved for a special breed of art-lovers and critics.

We need critics, certainly . . . but as observers and reporters . . . critics capable of guiding but capable also of inspiring. Critics with a writing style that is light, not heavy.

If a critic has the ability and chooses to express himself as Frank Getlein does, I'm for him.

SAMUEL R. SCHWARTZ

Chicago, Illinois

" . . . Lead, Kindly Light"

SIRS:

I REFER you to a contribution in the March 11 number of your magazine entitled "It may be Therapy, but it's not Art." Although I do not pose as a competent critic it seems to me to be an excellent article. But I have a protest to make: Mr. Getlein is quite evidently familiar with the words of Cardinal Newman's poem "Lead, Kindly Light" and should have refrained from using them as he did. Apart from the fact that there is nothing to show indebtedness for the expression used, it is shockingly bad taste to apply the "Kindly Light" of the poem to the lighting of the Navy Pier.

WILLIAM J. S. BENNETT

Oakland, Calif.

► *Judaism & the State of Israel*

SIRS:

I WAS surprised to note in your issue of March 4, Reinhold Niebuhr's agreement with William F. Potter's contention that "Judaism does not require the State of Israel." A prime belief of Judaism is the Messianic return to the Holy Land or the Messianic form of Zionism. . . . It is true that Judaism has survived some 1,900 years without a Jewish state. However, the history of spiritual and cultural genocide by assimilation as well as physical genocide during the past century-and-a-half point to the need for a self-sustaining cultural Jewish center. Since such a cultural center cannot be left to the good-will or mercy of others, and since under present conditions statehood is the chief guarantee of the right of Jews to self-defense, cultural and religious self-development and self-fulfillment, the State of Israel is essential to the preservation of the Jews and therefore also of Judaism.

ABRAHAM G. DUKER

President, College of Jewish Studies
Chicago, Ill.

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